

LIBERATION

APRIL 1961

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DESIGNING PACIFIST FILMS, PAUL GOODMAN

"A NUCLEAR MISHAP," AN A.E.C. REPORT

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: DAVE DELLINGER, CARLETON BEALS, & A LETTER FROM HAVANA

THE UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

APR 24 1961

PERIODICAL
READING ROOM



The Promise of Spring
after a long long winter?

VIEW

LIBERATION AN INDEPENDENT MONTHLY

110 Christopher St. New York 14, N. Y.

CHelsea 3-5411

Chicago: 4831 South Dorchester

England: care of Housmans, 5 Caledonian Rd., Kings Cross, London N 1

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In This Issue:

PAUL GOODMAN's recent book *Growing Up Absurd*, a critique of the organized society, will be reviewed in these pages next month by **Richard Mayes**.

HOLLEY CANTINE, co-editor of *Prison Etiquette* and translator of *Voline's* book *Nineteen-Seventeen; the Russian Revolution Betrayed from the French*, walked from Kittery, Maine, to New York City in last month's *Polaris Action Peace Walk*.

CARLETON BEALS has written many books on Latin America. He last wrote in *LIBERATION* about Cuba in the Summer, 1960, issue.

A few years ago, **JACK JONES** published a long article called "To the End of Thought," which has been hailed by **Czeslaw Milosz** and **Sir Herbert Read**, among others, as one of the most important essays of recent years. The article touched off extended controversy in the pages of *LIBERATION* and elsewhere. Mr. Jones' work has also appeared in the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, *Politics*, and many other publications.

MARIO GONZALEZ is a Cuban libertarian and artist who lives in Havana.

Emergency: *LIBERATION* is proud to be able to announce that the "Patchen Page" will be published again next month and will continue to appear each issue for the remainder of the year. Meanwhile **Kenneth Patchen** lies almost totally disabled and under full-time nursing care following an operation in January to combat a painful and recurring spinal injury. Now his wife, who has of necessity been the sole support of the family, is also seriously ill. Impressive appeals have been made in past months by well-known persons, but the funds received have been exhausted by extremely high medical expenses. We will not try to say what **Kenneth Patchen's** poetry and **Kenneth Patchen's** integrity mean to us, but from our hearts we ask our readers to send whatever money they can to come to the aid of these fine people. Send your contribution in any amount to **Kenneth Patchen**, 2340 Sierra Court, Palo Alto, California.

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LIBERTARIAN PRESS
a workers' community shop
GLEN GARDNER, N. J.

Subscription: 1 year . . . \$3.00; Individual Copies . . . 30c
Make checks and money orders payable to *LIBERATION*

THE PEACE CORPS

Burdick and Lederer's best seller, *The Ugly American*, has focused so much attention on the high living and low idealism of State Department officials overseas that President Kennedy's "peace corps" will evoke considerable enthusiasm from many who have become disgusted with the old methods.

Alas, however, the "peace corps" will be little more than a modern modification of the missionary system, unless it is combined with a radical reorientation of foreign policy.

For what has been wrong with our diplomacy is not that we have had "bad diplomats," guilty of conspicuous consumption, but that a bad policy has corrupted some good diplomats. Having set ourselves the task of propping the world *status quo*, how could we sustain idealism in the ranks of our State Department? Having decided we must place primary emphasis on gaining military bases from hardened dictators, how could we draw the best of the nation to foreign posts? The "peace corps," like the religious missionary system, does nothing to change the *fundamental* state of affairs. We have always had a good "peace corps"—the women who acted as midwives in countries where infant mortality was from fifty to eighty per cent, the agrarian experts who taught peasants about crop rotation and irrigation, the trade unionists who tried to build a free labor movement. There are and have been—this past decade and a half—men of high calibre in such endeavors.

But they have been "spitting against the wind," because the *first* necessity of the underdeveloped nations is a changed social system. It does little good to teach a farmer crop rotation in Pakistan where feudal lords control land tenure. It does little good to build a trade-union movement in Formosa where private law prevails and dictatorship precludes the freedom which is essential for free unionism.

Before the new Kennedy venture can be substantive the administration must put itself four-square on the side of radical social alteration. Unfortunately, Mr. Kennedy's emphasis is still on militarism, on "stabilized deterrents" and "limited war" strategies. It is here that the "peace corps" idea

falters. For if we remain the bastion of the *status quo* the efforts of these young men, no matter how noble and dedicated, will be wasted.

CARE and various other decent organizations—with their own "peace corps"—have run up against this problem time and again. Plows that were sent to dictatorships usually wound up in the hands of the large landowners rather than the peasants. We recall an instance in Pakistan where the recipient of such beneficence informed CARE that he would thank the donor in person—"next time I travel to Texas."

Our new peace corps will bring about only minor gains for the cause of freedom until American policy itself is fundamentally reoriented away from militarism and toward democratic revolution. S. L.

GOVERNMENT BY INTIMIDATION

On February 27th, the Supreme Court ruled Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden guilty of contempt for having refused to answer questions about possible Communist affiliation put to them by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The Court divided five to four on the issue. We reproduce below key passages from Justice Hugo Black's "passionate and despairing" dissents, as the *New York Times* has characterized them. *LIBERATION* has repeatedly urged that workers for peace, and citizens generally, get over being intimidated by those who *call* them Communists. We urge people to meditate on Justice Black's words: *This country was not built by men who were afraid and it cannot be preserved by such men.*

We also point, as we have so often in varied contexts, to the fact of *individual moral and political responsibility*. Each of us can settle and has to settle for himself the question whether he will seek the safety of compromise or silence or be ready to go to jail, with Braden and Wilkinson, with Bill Henry, of *Polaris Action*, and others, in defiance of tyrants and in defense of principle.

In my view, the majority by its decision today places the stamp of constitutional approval upon a practice as clearly inconsistent with the Constitution and indeed with every ideal of individual freedom for which this country has so long stood, as any that has ever come

before this court. For, like Mr. Justice Douglas, I think it clear that this case involves nothing more nor less than an attempt by the Un-American Activities Committee to use the contempt power of the House of Representatives as a weapon against those who dare to criticize it. . . .

In the atmosphere existing in this country today, the charge that someone is a Communist is so common that hardly anyone active in public life escapes it. Every member of this court has, on one occasion or another, been so designated. And a vast majority of the members of the other two branches of Government have fared no better. If the mere fact that someone has been called a Communist is to be permitted to satisfy a requirement of probable cause, I think it plain that such a requirement is wholly without value. . . .

The result of all this is that from now on anyone who takes a public position contrary to that being urged by the House Un-American Activities Committee should realize that he runs the risk of being subpoenaed to appear at a hearing in some far-off place, of being questioned with regard to every minute detail of his past life, of being asked to repeat all the gossip he may have heard about any of his friends and acquaintances, of being accused by the committee of membership in the Communist Party, of being held up to the public as a subversive and a traitor, of being jailed for contempt if he refused to cooperate with the committee in its probe of his mind and associations, and of being branded by his neighbors, employer and erstwhile friends as a menace to society regardless of the outcome of that hearing.

With such a powerful weapon in its hands, it seems quite likely that the committee will weather all criticism, even though justifiable, that may be directed toward it. For there are not many people in our society who will have the courage to speak out against such a formidable opponent.

If the present trend continues, this already small number will necessarily dwindle as their ranks are thinned by the jails. Government by consent will disappear to be replaced by government by intimidation because some people are afraid that this country cannot survive unless Congress has the power to set aside the freedoms of the First Amendment at will.

A. J. M.

designing pacifist films

PAUL GOODMAN



I AM ASKED for my thoughts about the content and style of anti-war films, and making such a film.

First of all such a film must at least not do positive harm by predisposing its audience toward war. The images of senseless violence, horror, and waste that are usually employed in the commercially successful "anti-war" films do have a pornographic effect and remain in the soul as excitants and further incitements. Let me spell this out.

1.) In cinematic conditions of bright screen and dark theater, lasting for many minutes and tending to fascination and hypnosis, images of horror easily detach themselves from the kind of intellectual and ethical framework in which they are usually presented, and they attach themselves to quite different subliminal ideas. We must bear in mind how a child wakes up screaming with his nightmare of the animated cartoon he has seen, and this nightmare is now expressing a kind of wish.

2.) Also the response of a theatrical mass-audience is different from the more intellectual and ethical response of a small company or an individual reading. What a theater audience experiences most vividly is how it has, anonymously, shared in breaking a taboo, in witnessing with accomplices the forbidden and shocking. The "message" of the spectacle is then employed as a rationalization. Of course it is only the rationalization that is mentioned outside the theater or in the reviews, though the advertising hints at the shocking.

3.) This dual process is specific for the heightening of guilt: a forbidden stimulation with one's censorship lowered by crowd feeling, disapproved by one's ethical and social self. Now the effect of guilt is not reform nor, finally, deterrence; but inevitably resentment for having been made guilty, and clandestinely or unconsciously choosing more congenial buddies. (Pacifist propaganda in general, let me say, is prone to arouse guilt just because it is irrefutable and on the side of the angels. This is an important reason why accom-

panying persuasion some immediate *action* must be available—just as a loving sexual seduction must lead to acts or it does harm.)

4.) The arousing of lust and self-disapproval leads to the specific pornographic effect of wished-for punishment (the hall-mark of popular sexual art). The image of punishment is often provided in the film itself, as its poetic justice. Such self-punishment is evil in itself; but worse is that usually it is projected far and wide as vindictive hatred of scapegoats. And alternatively, it seeks for allies in mass-suicide, as if to say, "We are not worthy to live."

5.) Especially in cinema, the conditions of fantasy and the habits of the audience are so discontinuous with behavior in the waking public world that the shock of strong images is sentimentalized: the rationalizing sorrow and regret is used to *insulate* the experience from any possible action. The energy of revulsion turns into pity, a pornographic emotion, rather than active compassion or political indignation,—not otherwise than Christians exhaust their neighbor-love in the sentimentality of the Cross. The next step is for the sentimentalized horror to be taken as matter-of-course in the public world, just as for those Christians the poor *must* always be with us, so Christians can be charitable.

6.) Finally, bad audiences cannot be relied on to respond to a whole work of art; they will select from it what suits their own repressions, and interpret according to their own prejudices the very fact that they have been moved despite themselves. The lovely is taken as dirty, the horrible as sadistically thrilling. This derogation is partly revenge against the artist. Bad audiences follow the plot as a story; they do not identify with the whole work as the soul of the poet, but they identify with the actors of the story and take sides. Given a film about capital punishment, for instance, a Camus will notice, and be steeled in revulsion by, the mechanism: he will deny the whole thing the right to exist because it is not *like us* (this is the reaction-formation, denial, that is characteristic

of active compassion); but a vulgar audience will identify with the victim, get involved in the suspense, thrill to the horror, and weep with pity. The effect is entertainment, not teaching or therapy; and to be entertained by such a theme is itself damaging.

2

By a good audience, of course, a work of genuine art cannot be easily mis-taken and abused in this way. By definition, the images of genuine art do not allow themselves to be attached from its idea, for the whole is solidly fused in the artistic activity. But this standard of excellence is useless for our present purposes, since such works are not conveniently had for the asking. And when they do occur, they are just as likely to be embarrassing to our rhetorical purposes. For example—I choose classics of literature that are beyond debate—both Homer's *Iliad* and Tolstoy's *War and Peace* are infused by, and teach us, a profound pacifism, a lofty and compassionate dismay at the infatuated violence of men in their armies. Yet they certainly also express, and even celebrate, the demonic in war, the abysmal excitement of mankind gone mad. This was interesting to these artists and it *might* be to any contemporary artist—how could one know? The counter to such demonism in a great artist would have to be a kind of saintliness. We are here clearly outside the context of planning pacifist films.

Again by definition, in a work of genuine art the images of horror, etc. do not have a pornographic effect and do not incite to repetitions, for the experience is finished and cathartic: the fearful images are purged, transcended, interpreted, or otherwise integrated with the rest of life. An art work leaves its audience with a saner whole philosophy (more congenial to pacifism in so far as pacifism is truth); and it has taken some of the venom from the cruelty and arrogance in the soul. But such a recreative "finished" experience is precisely not rhetoric; it does not lead directly to action or any *immediate policy*. The Athenians seeing Euripides' *Trojan Women* were no doubt wiser and sadder about the very course of folly that they continued plunging along. I do believe, however, that great art, forcibly confronting us with a more meaningful universe, does *initiate* conversion, and pacifists do well to perform these achieved monuments of their tradition.)

My guess—I judge from my own art-working—is that a serious modern artist who happens to be a pacifist (and how could he not be, if he once attends to these matters?)—if such an artist begins to move artistically among the scenes of war, his art action will themselves to be detached from its idea, for the whole horror, rage, pain, and devastation. The vegetarian will disclose his own cannibalism, the pacifist his murder-

ousness. Such works, e.g. *Guernica*, are monuments of how it is with us; they have no leisure for a practical moral, nor even for the luxury of indignation. The eye-lamp flamingly thrust forward over *Guernica* does not light up the deed of Nazi bombers, but the violent soul of Picasso, brought to a salutary pause.

If we consider spurious, *kitsch*, or propagandistic anti-war art, on the other hand, its actual pornographic and provocative effect is equally to be expected, for the fantasy and the art-working convey the disorder of the weak artist and speak to the underlying wishes of the bad audience.

We thus have, by and large, the ironical situation that precisely the best cause, that has irrefutable sense and common humanity, ought to avoid "psychological," "artistic," and mass-rhetorical effects.

3

What, then, are the available resources of pacifist persuasion that can be used for a pacifist film? They can be roughly classified as:

I. Factual education

II. Analyses of character-neurotic and social-neurotic war-ideology, and the withdrawal of energy from the causes of war-spirit

III. Opportunities for positive action, and pacifist history and exemplars.

I. a.) As a strictly prudential argument, pacifism has an easy case, perhaps too easy a case, so that people do not take it seriously, it is too obvious. People have always known that war is a poor expedient, inefficient for any plausible purpose. And "present-day war," not only *our* present-day war, has long been out of the question. It is best if the facts, of the senselessness of it, are allowed to speak for themselves, without admixture of moral or emotional appeal or any grandiose references to saving the human species. The matter is much simpler. War-talkers are pretty close to fools or else not a little crazy; their postures and remarks are not proper to normal grown men. This can be simply demonstrated, relying on logic, statistics, and history. The framework must be an irrefragable and unmistakable structure of even printed verbal propositions, however "uncinematic"; for we are dealing with a deeply neurotic and even schizophrenic phenomenon, and the *reality of ordinary reasoning, and ordinary dismissal of stupidity*, must be strongly affirmed.

b.) On the other hand, the dangers of pacifist action—e.g. the risks involved in unilateral disarmament—should also be dispassionately and *fully* presented, so far as they can be fairly estimated. *It is not necessary to have an answer for every argument*, even grave arguments, for we cannot do what is senseless and un-

worthy of men in any case. Pacifism is a decision. The "serious" position is not, as Niebuhr, for instance, seems to think, to choose a lesser evil; it is to realize that we cannot have been so wrong for so long without purgatorial suffering.

c.) The facts of war-policy, war-makers, and war-economy ought to be exposed with unsparing honesty and detail, at the risk of inevitable censorship. E.g. delineating the personalities—a Teller, Eisenhower, or J. Edgar Hoover—on whom so much is allowed to depend. But further, the immense network of the power structure must be made clear and diagrammed, so that a person comes to realize how nearly every job, profession, and status is indirectly and directly involved in making war.

II. a.) Psychologically, our "tough" warriors live by a conceit of themselves as strong, to ward off the anguish of their spirits broken by authorities they could not face up to; and a conceit of themselves as hard, to ward off loss of love and fear of impotence. A film might profitably analyze the military posture, pelvis retracted, belly kept hard, exhalation restricted; the military ethos of inhibited feeling; the conceit of superiority by slavish identification with authority-symbols. For comparison, analyze the social and family genesis of an underprivileged gang tough. Explain the details of Marine discipline as a means of destroying manliness. The system of griping fostered in armies as a means of maintaining childish dependency and avoiding mutiny. But further, show how in our times the classical sociology of the armed services as a substitute for civilian responsibilities is combined with the use of the services as complements of and training for organizational civilian life. The soldier seeks for ratings like a junior executive, while the Organization Man has a tough as his secret ideal. A thorough social and psychological analysis of these types might immunize the young.

b.) Analyze the notion of the Enemy as a projection (scapegoat) and also as a political red herring. Show in detail how Enemies have been manufactured and miraculously reformed by techniques of press and promotion. Show also how foreign nations have thus manufactured the Americans as the Enemy and assigned to us Enemy traits and wishes.

c.) But probably the chief factor of war-spirit that must be analyzed is not the military character nor the projection of the Enemy, but the *paralysis* with which the vast majority of people of all countries accept the war that they oppose both by conviction and feeling. This must betoken an inner, fatalistic attachment to the feared disaster, and it is best explained as "primary masochism" (Reich): the hypothesis that, because of their rigid characters, people are unable to feel their

pent-up needs, especially of sexuality and creative growth, and therefore they dream up, seek out, and conspire in an external catastrophe to pierce their numbness and set them free. The prevalent conditions of civilian peace and meaningless jobs tend to heighten this lust for explosion. (My experience, however, is that in analyzing this factor of war, one is opposed precisely by the more moralistic pacifists themselves. Rather than condone normal homosexuality or encourage the sexuality of their children, they would, apparently, accept the brutality of armies and see people blown to bits. One is dubious about the sanity of their pacifism, which seems to be rather a defense against their own hostile fantasies.)

Social and psychological subject-matter of this type is sufficiently interesting in itself and is only confused by attempts at drama or case-history; a straight classroom approach, the illustrated lecture, is most quietly effective.

III. a.) Factual exposure of the political and corporate operations of war society, and psychological and social analysis of its war-ideology and spirit ought to disattach and release the energy that had been bound up in conventional symbols and habits of life. We must then have uses for this energy and opportunities for pacifist action. In principle, any animal satisfaction, personal self-realization, community welfare, or humane culture will draw energy from the structure of conceit, projection, and fatalistic masochism of the war-spirit. "Waging peace" is the best means of preventing war, and pacifists do well to invent and support programs for the use of our wealth and energy freed from the expense, fear, and senselessness of war. In my opinion, let me say, there is also natural violence that diminishes war, e.g. the explosion of passion, the fist-fight that clears the air, the gentle forcing of the virginal, the quarrel that breaks down the barriers to interpersonal contact. War feeds on the inhibition of normal aggression. (Of course, many pacifists disagree with this point of view.)

b.) Specifically pacifist action—usually in the form of refusing—is called for when people are required to engage directly in war-making, e.g. by the conscription, the civil defense, working in war-science or war-factories. The defense of civil liberties, also, seems to be congenial to pacifists, because the libertarian attitude goes contrary to the power-state.

c.) Finally, the preferred pacifist means of exerting social force has gotten to be nonviolent direct action shared in by the group. Any instance of this, even if it fails, is proof of the feasibility of the pacifist position, for it shows that sensible and moral individual and small group action is possible, and thereby it diminishes our masochistic paralysis in the face of

approaching doom "too big for men to cope with." (The history and the heroes of civil disobedience and nonviolent direct action, achieving or failing to achieve happiness, social welfare, cultural progress, constitute the mythology of pacifism. They have the heartening exemplarity and the, perhaps, sentimental irrelevance of any mythology.) To my mind, pacifism is like Rilke's unicorn, it "*feeds on the possibility of existing.*" For the resistance to modern warfare is natural and universal; the arguments against pacifism are weak; and the spirit of war is reducible by analysis; but what is needed is stories, examples, and opportunities for action concrete in the experience of the audience.

4

Factual and analytic handling of images of war can neutralize their pornographic effect. My bias is that even the exemplary images of pacifist action are best handled in a documentary fashion, avoiding audience-identification with their heroes and keeping the real situation in the foreground. The purpose of the film is not so much inspiration as to point to opportunities in the audience's real environment. *It is better to err on the side of dryness. The heart is already enlisted.* Emphasis on the pacifist "movement" with its charismatic symbols and "leaders" betrays us into the field

of public relations, where we are swamped. The charismatic excitement that gives courage and solidarity must emerge in each concrete occasion of pacifist action, and it will emerge, if it is really a man's own occasion. We are in the tradition of bearing witness. It was just the genius of Gandhi to notice faultless occasions.

The nine kinds of theme I have outlined could be the substance of a useful series of documentary pacifist films. Developed forthrightly and in particular detail, they would certainly prove offensive to many audiences, including some pacifist audiences, but they could hardly fail to hit home. They would rouse anxiety both by the character-analysis of the audience and by the need for the audience to make decisions in on-going actions. The shared shock of the truth and of possibility is, in our society at present, equivalent to breaking a taboo. For most, I guess, the effect of such films would be uneasy silence, a dangerous but transitory state of feelings. The hope is that some of this feeling would be mobilized to decisive action, just as some would surely result in ugly reaction. Perhaps most persons would be made deeply thoughtful.

For its makers, such a document would certainly be a pacifist action, a commitment and a bearing witness.

Truth Can Be Stranger Than Dreams

A few days ago, at the house of a friend, I heard, for the first time, a folk, or rather, pseudo-folk record made by Pete Seeger, called, "Love Songs for Friends and Foes." The record has been around for four or five years, but I am not very ardently devoted to folk music unless it is really authentic. The songs on the record constitute a mixed collection of real folk-songs—good, bad, and indifferent—and several recently contrived songs, of a vaguely political nature, employing either traditional folk melodies, or melodies that resemble traditional folk melodies. The one that brought me up short was called "The Strangest Dream," words and music by one Ed McCurdy. The tune, a fairly lugubrious one, resembles "I dreamt I saw Joe Hill last night," but the words are what got me. "Last night I had the strangest dream . . . I dreamed the world had all agreed to put an end to war." Somehow, I felt I had heard this before. Was it possible that I *had* after all heard the record somewhere else?—I do have a number of friends who are folk-music devotees. But no, I was sure it was something else the song brought to mind. Then the second verse: "I dreamed I saw a mighty room . . . full of men . . . the paper they were signing said they'd never fight again"—and I had it. This was no dream; the singer was simply recalling the Kellogg-Briand pact. I could distinctly remember reading the fading fly-specked document in the local post office, where it hung among the recruiting posters and Wanted notices, while I was waiting for the mail to be sorted: "The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in

the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another."

For the benefit of younger readers who have never heard of the episode, the Kellogg-Briand pact was a product of the period that has been aptly called the "Era of Wonderful Nonsense" and was possibly the most wonderful and certainly the most nonsensical achievement of the time. It was the brain-child of the American Secretary of State, Frank Kellogg, and the French Premier, and recent Nobel Peace Prize winner, Aristide Briand. It was ratified by the United States Senate on January 15, 1929—the same session also voted an increase in military appropriations—and was formally proclaimed by President Hoover on July 24th of the same year, with the adherence of forty-five nations, constituting the overwhelming majority of all the sovereign states of the time. Copies were hung in post offices and other public buildings throughout the world . . . and then, presumably the whole thing was promptly forgotten; it might well have been a dream, for all the practical consequences that flowed from it. I lack information as to whether it was ever formally abrogated.

Dream on, Mr. McCurdy, but next time, try to avoid including governments in your solutions, if you really want to end wars. Such dreams could be of no value even to a psychoanalyst.

HOLLEY CANTINE

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST CASTRO

DAVE DELLINGER

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION is under bitter attack, from a variety of sources and for a variety of reasons.

At one extreme are some of those who know the terrifying history of Communist cruelty and corruption at their worst: the self-righteous god-playing in history and the resulting "end-justifies-the-meanness" sacrifice of the living men and women of today for the theoretical benefit of future generations, the ruthless suppression of civil liberties, the cynical and dishonest attacks on "deviationists," the gradual destruction at the center of the very values which constitute the great emotional appeal of Communism to millions who long for a free and classless society. On the theory that where there is smoke there must be fire, and with a stereotype of Communism as always and everywhere being Communism at its worst and most powerful, these people seize upon the most distorted charges from the extreme right and use them as evidence that the Cuban Revolution has fallen prey to Communist control and is in the process of systematically betraying its humanist aims. Many sincere liberals extend to Latin America (without realizing that this is what they are doing) the "guilt-by-association" attitude which has become prevalent in the United States in the last fifteen years, and assume that any movement which does not systematically and hysterically purge Communists and suspected Communists from the ranks of even its part-time allies and supporters is Communist-controlled. They forget that even in Western Europe, where economic conditions are incomparably better than in Latin America, where the public pressures against Communists are great, and where the private experience of socialists, anarchists, and pacifists with Communist duplicity has been bitter, the relationship between Communists and non-Communists is far more fluid than it is in the United States. As an example, Communists carry their own banners and distribute their own literature in the Aldermaston Marches of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and even those anarchists and pacifists who think this is unsound continue to support the Marches. American liberals who have no difficulty in carrying out Marie Antoinette's injunction, "Let them eat cake," forget that under different economic conditions millions of basically honest workers in such countries as France and Italy vote for Communist Party candidates year after year, often without supporting, or even being aware of, Communist Party chicanery. The desk from which American intellectuals can dismiss

any movement anywhere in the world which has (or is claimed by the press to have) a few Communist supporters is hardly in the real world.

After the United States, which never took action against Batista, Trujillo, Somosa, Chiang Kai-Shek, Syngman Rhee, Verwoerd, Franco, etc., began a relentless economic war against the Cuban Revolution (not only instituting a devastating boycott on its own but also bringing pressure on Britain, Japan, Canada, Belgium, etc., to stop trade with Cuba) it would have taken not just a politically sophisticated Fidel Castro but an idealistically suicidal one to reject offers of trade and technical assistance from Communist countries. It is as if an American pushed Castro into treacherous waters, threw stones at him, beat off the bystanders who would have helped him, and then called him a Communist when he grabbed hold of the life-line thrown to him by a Communist.

At the other extreme among the critics, is a corrupt alliance of American financial and military interests with dispossessed and embittered members of the Cuban upper classes, some of whom derived their wealth from gross corruption that would not have been tolerated in the United States and others who simply cannot understand the ethics of a revolutionary government which, in effect, tells them that their privileged education or possession of inherited property does not entitle them to incomes of twenty-five thousand dollars, or more, a year in a country where the per-capita income, under Batista, was under four hundred dollars a year (less than half the per-capita income of Mississippi, the poorest state in this country). On the basis of my limited but first-hand experience of Revolutionary Cuba I can state unequivocally that the mass-circulation papers and magazines and the popular radio and television broadcasts on Cuba are filled with inexcusable distortions—end even lies—that make the rigged quiz shows and the misleading commercials appear like minor violations of public ethics by contrast. (I will give some examples later.) The stakes in Latin America are far greater than they were in the quiz programs and the rigging is proportionately larger. The molders of public opinion are desperately anxious to prevent the spread of economic revolution to the rest of Latin America (which is writhing under its burden of poverty and colonial exploitation) and—who knows?—perhaps even to the United States, and apparently feel that the American public is so cowed and lacking in independent judgment that they can safely follow Hitler's technique

of constantly repeating the Big Lie until the vast majority accept it as truth. In any event, the irresponsible intervention of the Central Intelligence Agency and Big Business require a desperate propaganda. In this they are aided by an army of guilt-ridden ex-Communists (a heritage of McCarthy-Walter-Eastland-Doddism) who have a psychological need to prove to themselves and their associates in the universities and other respectable institutions that they are "reliable" and 100% reformed members of American society. They bring to their new American masters the same uncritical acceptance of the American "party line" that they once gave in their "revolutionary" days to the Russians.

Between the two extremes is a number of sensitive and relatively independent persons to whom the poverty and degradation of Latin America are not daily, gnawing wounds and to whom the economic and social accomplishments of the Cuban Revolution are inevitably somewhat distant and vague, but who feel an instinctive revulsion (which I share) at the executions of accused counter-revolutionaries and the mounting reports of suppressions of civil and political liberties.

Finally, there is in the United States today a rather superficial approach to history which fails to take into account the fact that the Old Testament writer was wrong and that, when it comes to economic, social, and political relationships, there can be something new under the sun. It is assumed that although human beings can make discoveries and innovations in the fields of science and technology, they cannot do the same in the economic and political arena. There is an unconscious assumption (which large numbers of people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America do not share) that all attempts at revolution must end by producing either Communist totalitarianism or democratic capitalism. With most of Latin America on the verge of revolt or revolution or both, the United States is particularly anxious to foster this illusion and, as I suggested in my last article, American financial (but not the professional military) interests have undoubtedly tried to drive Cuba in a Communist and totalitarian direction as evidence that there is no third (or fourth etc.) choice. (Many "libertarians" are aiding this process by washing their hands of the Revolution.) The overwhelming evidence of my personal observation and study indicated that the Cuban Revolution was proceeding in its own unique fashion as a humanist and organically democratic Revolution that puts the lie to both camps, those who say that economic justice is impossible without overweening state control and those who pretend that the kind of economic oligarchy we have in the United States is in any sense a democratic society "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

When I was in Spain in 1936, during the second April 1961

month of the Civil War, I was amazed at the number of unlabelled but easily recognizable Communists that I kept running into in Barcelona and Madrid, particularly in the offices of the Republican government. In Cuba, last November, I talked with hundreds of active and often influential revolutionists who not only did not bear the Communist imprint but were fiercely proud of the fact that this was a Cuban Revolution that had triumphed over the opposition of corrupt Batista-ites, Communist sectarians, and Yankee imperialists. In all, I met only three recognizable Communists or fellow-travellers during my three weeks there, far less than I had expected to find after reading both the capitalist and the "libertarian" press, and less than I meet in my normal contacts in the anti-war movement in the United States. Recently I spent six hours in New York with five obviously non-Communist Cubans, some of them members of the delegation to the United Nations and others members of the permanent mission to the U.N. I found the same reassuring combination of revolutionary fervor and freedom from old-line ideologies.

We must remember that even the "Communist bloc" is not monolithic any more, with significant differences among China, Russia, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, etc. (as well as internal conflicts among Communists within these countries), and with Communists playing a leading role in the anti-Soviet revolts in Hungary and Poland. A few years ago, when Russia and Yugoslavia were estranged, Tito sought aid and trade from the United States without thereby making Yugoslavia a capitalist country. (The United States government seems determined to make Cuba its "Hungary" rather than its "Yugoslavia.") By what logic (or hysteria) do people assume that a profoundly independent Latin American country whose culture, traditions, size, and economic conditions are entirely different than those of Russia in 1917 will follow in the tradition of Stalinism, simply because it has turned its back on the economic injustices and the McCarthyite politics of an anachronistic American capitalism? I. F. Stone has pointed out that even if the United States corporations were to regain control of Cuba, they could not turn back the clock by ousting the peasants from their new houses or taking away their electricity, their schools, and their hospitals. The same logic holds for the Communists, who could not force the Cubans to become robots even if they gained control and wanted to do so. While the daily press and the Cuban "libertarians" are asserting that the Communists have taken control of the Castro régime, the *Wall Street Journal*, which functions more to provide realistic information to financiers than for either mass brainwashing or sectarian propaganda, has had at least two articles in recent months stating that neither the Soviet Union nor the Cuban Communists have tried to gain control in

Cuba. While the Cuban Libertarians assert that "Fidel came to a coincidence of interests with the Communists from about 1956," (a time when they were in bitter conflict), Cubans with whom I have talked have considered it *prima facie* evidence of a man's being free of Communism to point out that he is "close to Fidel."

Whatever the reason for the bitterness of the attacks on Cuba, however dishonest or uncritical many of the attackers have proved themselves to be, and however true it may be that the Cuban Revolution began as a genuinely third way, a nagging question remains: to what extent have the Cubans been able to preserve their humanist values in the face of economic boycott, murderous sabotage, and armed siege from the right and economic and technical aid from the totalitarian and semi-totalitarian left? To what extent has the violence employed by the revolutionists corrupted them and destroyed their sensitivity from within?

Breaking Diplomatic Relations

If the United States adhered to its pretended democratic principles it would be easier to find out. It would be easier to keep up with monthly developments in the trajectory of the Revolution because independent observers could visit Cuba and see for themselves. It is significant that a tremendous increase in the calumnies put forward by the manufacturers of public opinion followed the breaking of diplomatic relations with Cuba and the concomitant erection of America's Iron Curtain against free travel and investigation. Apparently the pretence for the breaking of relations was itself dishonest: the claim that Castro purposely forced the step by arbitrarily limiting the staff at the American embassy to eleven. Lyle Stuart writes in the *Independent* that Cuba had tried for months to get the United States to raise the quota of Cubans in their embassy at Washington. The government would not agree, so Castro finally said that if there could be only eleven Cubans in the embassy in Washington, there could be only eleven Americans in the embassy in Havana. This information could hardly be found in the American papers, but other contradictions in the text for the day were manifest for those who had the interest to find them. For instance, it was stated that the purpose of excluding Americans from Cuba was to "protect" them, but it was also stated that permission to go to Cuba would be granted only to those whose travel would "serve American interests." The fact is that during twenty-seven months of the Revolution, so far as I have been able to find out, *no* American tourist has ever been attacked. Certainly I felt safer wandering alone in the slums of Havana and Santiago de Cuba after midnight than I would, at a similar hour, in the streets of most American cities. In any event, if any Americans ever need "protection" in Cuba, it will be the very ones who get Amer-

ican passports because their visits will "serve American interests."

If the United States had its proclaimed faith in a free and informed citizenry and if it believed that conditions were as deplorable in Cuba as it asserts them to be, it would *encourage* Americans to go there rather than forbid them. The fact is that I know of nearly a dozen persons who went to Cuba skeptically and came back inspired and humbled by what they had seen and distressed at the distortions being foisted on the American people by the press and government.

In order to get some perspective on the charges against the Revolution, I am tempted to give a long list of the outright lies and subtle distortions that fill the mass media. However, the publicity forces of Big Government, Big Communication, and Big Business are so mammoth and Hydra-headed that in the long run the soundest defense of truth must lie in fostering a *general* awareness of the unreliability of public information and a sound orientation toward the competing forces at work in our society. So I will confine myself to mentioning a few recent examples of falsehood, together with a few typical inaccuracies of the "Cuban Libertarians," whose outlook is, of course, quite different than that of the mass media and the government.

1.) On February 16th, the nationally broadcast television program, "Castro, Cuba, and Communism," referred to Raul Roa, Cuba's Foreign Secretary, as a "Communist Party member for years." Not only is Roa *not* a Communist, but he has been engaged in a widely known battle to keep Communists out of the Foreign Ministry. Several anti-Castro Cubans stated this to me, in November—in the process of circulating a contradictory *bola* (rumor): that because Roa is *anti-Communist*, he was about to be fired from the Secretaryship. Since he continues to hold his post, the critics have apparently now decided that it is safer to say that he has been "a Communist Party member for years."

2.) The same program stated that Castro was "trained behind the Iron Curtain." Castro has never been in Europe or Asia, and it took the anti-Castro forces two years of spreading the Big Lie to get to the point where they now feel confident enough to discover otherwise.

3.) The New York *Herald Tribune* for March 22nd, in its attempt to build up the heads of the new "Provisional Regime," states: "Manuel Ray . . . organized the general strike which broke the back of the Batista regime in the final days before Mr. Castro took over." *Every* historian, whether of the left, right or center, knows that the attempted general strike was a dismal failure. R. Hart Phillips, New York *Times* correspondent in Cuba, stated the following in her book, *Cuba: Island of Paradox*: "The failure of the strike was a major blow to Fidel Castro. His right hand man, Faustino Perez, had been the head of the movement in Havana." (Or is the *Herald Tribune* rewriting the history of the general strike of January 1, 1959, which took place *after* Batista had fled from Cuba?)

4.) As an example of a more subtle distortion, the "Cuban Libertarians" (see March issue of *LIBERATION*) state: "David Salvador, who was originally put in by the 26th of July as general secretary of the Cuban Confederation of Labor, is now in prison. He is a Marxist, but he is too independent

for the Communists." Salvador was arrested while leaving Cuba illegally, on November 7th of last year, in a private yacht and, according to the charges, with \$13,500 on his person. Personally I do not believe in governmental restrictions on free travel, but wouldn't it have been fairer to mention that Salvador was charged with breaking at least two specific laws: illegal exit and illegal export of currency?

5.) The "Cuban Libertarians" also state that "the Libertarians were particularly strong in the Food Workers Union. When the Communists got to power, they expelled the Libertarians not only from the leadership but from the union itself. The leading Libertarians were suspended in March 1959 by Adolfo Urda and Nestor Gonzalez. Then these men were expelled by the Stalinists in January 1961, together with all known Libertarian members." (Emphasis added.) Yet the Cuban anarchists in the Food Workers union still publish their own monthly paper, *Solidaridad Gastronomica*, in Havana.

6.) "Cuban Libertarians" also charge that "Porfirio Ramirez, the president of the student federation of Santa Clara, was shot because G-2 said he was organizing an opposition. Again there was no real proof." An anti-Castro engineer in Cuba told me, as evidence of growing opposition to Castro, that Ramirez was captured while leading an armed raid during which at least two persons were killed. Castro-ites whom I consider trustworthy told me the same thing.

7.) "Cuban Libertarians" say: "Antonio Nunez Jimenez, a long-time party-member, is chief of the Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA)." While in Havana I visited the East Havana home of Nunez Jimenez in the company of one of his close friends, who is also a close friend of mine. Unfortunately, Nunez Jimenez proved to be away, so I did not meet him, but our friend is a reliable anti-Communist and I asked him about the charge, made to me a day or so earlier that Nunez Jimenez is a Communist. "Is this true?" I asked. "Absolutely not," was his unequivocal reply.

Even the State Department's "expose" of Cuba limits itself to the vague assertions that Nunez Jimenez was "a long-time co-worker in Communist front groups and another frequent pilgrim behind the Iron Curtain." (My own questions about Jimenez revolve around his reported statement that "we will build the biggest execution wall in history." If reported accurately, this is a shocking sentiment, even though it was in response to a wave of senseless bombings and murderous sabotage. As such it is reminiscent of the bloodlust that grips large sections of the American public after a particularly cruel murder, but it is no less inexcusable and self-defeating, particularly in view of the human compassion for which the Revolution stands.)

8.) Speaking of East Havana, one of the statements being circulated (it was repeated on the television program to which I have already referred) is that the highly publicized housing program is largely propaganda, that only a few houses have been built, for show, and that the East Havana houses stand incomplete and unoccupied. I saw more new houses in out-of-the-way places in Cuba than I have ever seen anywhere else at any time of my life. When I visited East Havana in November, there were houses and apartments in varying stages of construction. Many were already complete and occupied.

9.) "Cuban Libertarians" repeat the common charge: "At first it [the Workers Militia] was voluntary, but now every worker between certain ages has to join the militia or he is fired from his job." I was sitting in a cafe in the Vedado (the wealthy anti-Castro section of Havana) talking with

an anti-Castro man and woman, when I first heard this charge. I turned to the man, who was about thirty, and asked him if he was in the militia. "No," he answered. "Have you lost your job?" "No," he replied. I met lots of young men who were not in the militia, but none of them had lost his job. (The United States has had "peace-time" conscription since 1948, but so far Cuba has managed to avoid this, even though it is an open secret that an invasion force is being trained in Florida, Louisiana, Guatemala, and Panama.)

10.) While there is no agency that has both the courage and the financial resources to answer each charge, falsehood by falsehood, the *Independent* (225 Lafayette St., New York 12) does a good job of exposing a few in each issue. In the February issue, the *Independent* reprinted a photograph from *Life* of three supposedly despondent Cubans who actually were Ruby Hart Phillips of the *New York Times*, and two other Americans, another newspaper correspondent and an employee of the United States embassy. The March issue analyzes the February 16th television program, "Castro, Cuba and Communism," and says: "At least thirty major errors of fact were apparent to anyone who knew anything about Cuba. Film strips were doctored. Che Guevara was shown speaking in Havana on May Day 1960, when, in fact he was six hundred miles away. . . . The commentator described one crowd as being a 'hand-picked mob' but neglected to mention that the crowd comprised anywhere from 500,000 (New York Times estimate) to 1,000,000 people (anti-Castro *Diario De La Marina* estimate). . . . To prove that he is 'number one man' Che was described as entering Havana five days before Fidel, after Batista fled. The fact is that Camillo Cienfuegos and not Che Guevara entered Havana ahead of Fidel."

Nonviolence and the Cuban Revolution

There is an old saying that "my enemies I can handle but God save me from my friends." Besides the danger to the Cuban Revolution from the friendly Communists, there is the danger from the friendly libertarians and pacifists who wish nothing but well for the Cuban people but, in some cases, suffer from what seems to me to be an excess of puritanical zeal. The problem revolves around two "hard truths":

1.) *In the modern world there cannot be freedom without revolution and yet there cannot be full revolution without freedom.*

2.) *Nonviolence is incomplete, and in the long run hypocritical, unless it is revolutionary, and yet revolution is also incomplete and in the long run becomes hypocritical, unless it is nonviolent.*

Since these are hard truths, and in the past most movements have been either revolutionary or freedom-loving and nonviolent (nonviolence implies, of course, a scrupulous regard for freedom of opposition), it is difficult for a contemporary group to embrace both positions without lapsing into ineffectuality and a compensatory role of sterile "name-calling." (I am reminded here of Pascal's dictum that true greatness consists not in following the "golden mean" but in embracing both extremes of truth.) Let us look at both the Cuban Revolution and ourselves with these truths in mind.

The Cuban Revolution made no effort to be totally nonviolent. It began with an almost suicidal armed attack on Moncado Fortress in 1953, got a fresh start with an armed landing in Oriente in 1956, and continued with two years of guerilla warfare, which included commando-like raids, occasional pitched battles, and the successful "capture" first of villages, then of cities

and provinces, and, in the end of 1958, of all of Cuba.

And yet, it is amazing how far a spirit and a strength similar to that of nonviolence appears to have permeated Castro and large sections of his forces. Whereas the Batista forces, the luxury-loving champions of graft and parasitism, employed terror, revenge, and a sickening cruelty, Castro, who asserted that "one cannot have a good idea of God if he does not have a notion of what it is to love his neighbor," showed an unusual degree of self-sacrifice, forgiveness, and generosity. When the revolutionists were hiding in the mountains, they sent men out to buy food, clothing, and supplies from the peasants and shopkeepers rather than seize them by force of arms. When they captured Batista soldiers, they took their arms, treated them well, and released them—though with a warning that if they were caught again they would be executed; a punishment which, apparently, they rarely imposed until the third or fourth offense. Castro, with his twelve men in the mountains and his shortage of arms, certainly did not overwhelm the American-supervised, financed, and armed troops of Batista by superiority in the arts of violence. The overwhelming advantage in arms and money was with Batista and the United States. Castro's superiority lay in the strength of truth, justice and brotherhood, traditional weapons of revolutionists, which are usually employed more as slogans than as facts but in this case were made effective by the extent to which Castro and most of his men exemplified them in their own lives and in the way they treated both their friends and their enemies. This meant that Castro gradually won the overwhelming support of the Cuban people and the forces of Batista eventually disintegrated. (There is an instructive contrast between the experience of the Castro forces who were fed and sheltered by the people, and that of the present representatives in Cuba of the Cardona-Ray-Varona "provisional régime." The latter complain: "The Escambray forces were defeated because of the inability of their supporters to supply them with food and weapons from the outside." (N. Y. Times. Emphasis added.)

The tragedy is that revolutionists who could act with such nobility in a country which had no tradition of nonviolence did not have the opportunity for first-hand contact with a totally nonviolent and revolutionary movement (as the Negroes in Southern United States had contact with an incipient nonviolent movement for integration). The continuing tragedy is that in the present crisis there is no nonviolent revolutionary movement to give effective support to Castro (even negatively by restraining the United States government) and that the only significant outside help that is offered him is from the Communists. When I was in Cuba, I spoke against the executions, advocated nonviolence, and even refused to have my picture taken with armed militiamen. But my chief feelings of criticism were not of the Cuban revolutionists, who had carried out so superbly Gandhi's teaching that it is better to resist injustice violently than not to resist it at all (and who had done more to help the lowly and oppressed of Cuba resist injustice, in less than two years, than the victorious Indians have done for the poor of their country in fifteen). I was more concerned about my own failure and that of my fellow pacifists who have failed to be revolutionists, whatever verbal concessions we may make to the need for economic change. Our children are not

growing up as illiterate and undernourished victims of a foreign imperialism. We are not unemployed. Yet it does not seem to bother most of us that when we view the Cuban Revolution our main emotional drive against violence is against the violence of those who have risen up in their suffering and the sufferings of their people to become Revolutionists rather than against the violence of those who, having lost their landed estates, graft, and dividends are carrying on a vicious campaign of sabotage and invasion to get them back. Among the libertarians are some who have such a one-sided view of liberty that they apparently have no active concern for the economic suppressions by American corporations of the liberties of those who were their serfs in Cuba and of those who are today in most of Latin America.

I too am concerned at every suppression of freedom and civil liberties in Cuba—though ninety per cent of the charges have turned out to be false when I have checked them out, and though most of the critics forget that the situation in Cuba today (with bombings of department stores, firing into peaceful crowds, arson, and the landing of expeditionary forces) should remind us of Justice Holmes' famous dictum that freedom of speech does not mean freedom to shout "Fire" in a crowded theater. I too think it would be a tragedy for the indigenous and inspiring Cuban Revolution to be "taken over" by the Communists—though I am convinced that the charges that this has happened are inaccurate and irresponsible. But who of us among the overprivileged of this world is to say that the economic violence of American imperialism in Latin America is less heinous than the employment by Cubans of arms purchased from Czechoslovakia to defend their hard-won liberty in the only way (unfortunately) that most men know.

If we are concerned (as I am) about the danger that the Revolution will be corrupted from within in the very process of defending itself against attacks and subversion, let us not shout slogans about freedom and nonviolence, in a vacuum. By giving aid to the counter-revolutionists we will be helping our own dire predictions to come true, much as the militarists have always turned out to be "right" in the past when they argued that disarmament was impossible, an enemy the Enemy, and war indeed necessary—because they helped fulfill their own prophecies. Let us rather bring revolutionary nonviolence into the real world by taking nonviolent action in support of the Cuban Revolution. As one example, I propose that American pacifists and libertarians volunteer to set up work camps in Cuba where we could engage in the constructive tasks of the Revolution (construction of homes, agricultural work, after-work teaching, etc.); where we could conduct action projects (for instance against the presence of the American base at Guantanamo); and where we could send home reports on the actual state of affairs (including our observations on such matters as civil liberties, economic freedom, and the growth, or lack of growth, of totalitarian or capitalist tendencies).

Perhaps action at this late date would have only symbolic value. Perhaps it could be the beginning of a new tradition that will some day help other Latin American countries be more nonviolent in their inevitable future revolutions. Perhaps the chief effect will be that we learn more of the economic facts of life.

LETTERS ON THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

CARLETON BEALS

Deep River, Conn.

I thought Dave Dellinger's articles on Cuba about the best yet on the subject. They were magnificent, with fine perspective and vibrantly immediate.

The Roy Finch hatchet job appals me. It seems sad indeed that the pages of *LIBERATION* should be utilized for repetition of the ugly and unproved testimony of the East-land committee given by ex-Batista-ites, White Rose counter-revolutionaries, and other assassins of the Cuban people.

Does Mr. Finch have no experience or intuition about emigres from revolutionary situations? Their inevitable distortions, lies and fabrications?

Of the fifty thousand plus Cubans in Florida for whom President Kennedy has put up five million dollars of taxpayers' money, nearly half are Cubans who have lived there for years; of the remainder more than half are ex-Batista assassins, killers and thieves. Of the rest, a large share are well-to-do Cubans who have been hurt and sometimes badly by the Revolution—former employees of United States corporations, lawyers and politicians. The official report of the number of refugees being eleven thousand, however, is probably underestimated. How does this compare with the hundred thousand Tories who went to Canada during the American Revolution, not to mention those who went to England, Bermuda, the Bahamas and elsewhere, those who lost their estates and never got paid for them. Yet the Thirteen Colonies at that time had half the present population of Cuba. And how about the million Puerto Ricans who have had to leave that democratic show-place of American colonialism in order not to starve to death?

Now to specifics:

1.) It is false that all the national and provincial unions have been taken over by Communists or sympathizers. The largest federation, the sugar workers, is headed by Conrad Becquer, never a Communist or Communist sympathizer, a fine, honest old-line Cuban labor-leader.

What does Mr. Finch know about the Cuban labor movement? The Cuban Confederation of Labor was taken over by the Communists lock, stock, and barrel, in the 'thirties. This was further abetted by Batista after 1940. It remained under Communist leadership until about 1950 when Prio Soccoras, the great thieving "democrat," used the army to purge all unions and drive out all Communists. He put in Eusebio Mujol, who a bit later became the ex-Communist stooge of Batista and proceeded to make himself many times a millionaire by stealing in one way or another the insurance and pension funds of the union, plus deals with the New York Mafia and Batista. He is now the adviser of the AFL-CIO in Washington on Cuban affairs.

2.) David Salvador, the ex-Communist. (He admits it himself, so this is no smear of the sort Mr. Finch indulges in.) was not put in by the 26th of July movement, though he was an ardent supporter of that movement, which was not true of the actual Communists, who have done a marvelous about-face on the Revolution and indeed are to be feared. David Salvador was sent to France with government funds to recompense the families of French sailors killed in the blowing up of the munitions ship in Havana harbor. There he did various things that damaged the interests both of the Cuban government and the labor movement. No financial accounting was asked from him; he was allowed to retire quietly.

He is now under arrest, not for his labor activities, but because he tried to escape illegally from the country in the company of conspirators against the government. Anti-Communism has nothing to do with his incarceration. Nor with the hailing of Julio Padron, against whom there are charges of an entirely different nature, whether true or false I do not know.

3.) A. Fraginols, General Secretary of the Electrical Union, was the master-mind and operator of the blowing up of the major electric cables that put all Havana in darkness for days under Batista. I reached Havana a few days after that occurred.

The electrical workers are the aristocrats of the Cuban labor movement. Before the Batista purge of their heads, they were earning three hundred dollars a month and up, or about seven times the wage of an ordinary lowest-paid government worker in the bureaucracy, and three to four times the wage of an ordinary craft worker, who made about seventy-five dollars a month. Under Castro the very lowest category now earns more than one hundred dollars a month, and most craft workers now earn more than one hundred and fifty a month. The electrical workers were a closed corporation, and only the relatives or friends of actual workers had any chance to get a job; and this meant that no Negroes whatever could find employment.

Fraginols was put in as something of a hero after Castro came in. He perpetuated the Negro discrimination. To offset this the government took the right of hiring and firing out of union hands. This is a step that I fear may lead to future abuses. But this was the chief issue over which Fraginols was fighting, not anti-Communism, though there was a small pro-Communist faction in the union making trouble for him. Then occurred a number of attempts at electrical sabotage, instigated, it came out, by officials of the union, and an attempt to blow up cables similar to that perpetrated earlier by Fraginols. In any event the police were closing in on him. Whether he was responsible I do not know, but this was the time he raised his anti-Communist smoke-screen and led some of his union members in an anti-Communist protest to the National Palace. He was also disgruntled because he felt that he should have been put in charge of the electrical plant when it was intervened by the government. He was not technically or otherwise equipped to do it, however.

The ousting of Fraginols from the union, along with a large number of his henchmen, does not smell so good. There is no doubt that the meeting was packed by outside union men, both Communists and pro-Castro elements.

4.) I know numbers of the heads of the Food Workers Union—incidentally in the Batista era the most corrupt and gangster-ridden union of all—and they are not Communists, so that the charge that it is one hundred per cent Communist-controlled is false. I was in Cuba when a shake-up occurred. The Communists, I would say, gained a great deal of ground at that time.

5.) There is no present law against striking. However, Castro has asked that unions forego strikes for the present and such a request is tantamount, I suppose to a no-strike order. However, wages, actual and real, have been increased more than at any other time in Cuba's history; union pension funds and welfare funds, previously stolen by union leaders, are now honestly safeguarded.

Actual wages have been increased from thirty to two hundred per cent, and if the all-year employment now prevailing is taken into account, it could be argued that in some instances, especially on sugar plantations, as much as six hundred per cent. Also, the half million or million workers previously seasonally or wholly unemployed are all working, so that starting from near zero one could get an almost astronomical wage increase for certain sections of the potential labor force. In any case, something close to two billion dollars a year has been added to the consumers' purchasing power by wage increases. Another vast sum has been added by the thirty per cent curtailment of utility rates, fifty per cent cut in rents and the lowering of interest rates on time payments.

Food prices are considerably lower than they ever have been. Most other articles, such as clothing, shoes, etc., are now much lower. To say that the Cuban worker is worse off than before is so palpably a falsehood, it is hard to understand how an intelligent man could even set such an argument down on paper.

Nor are the wage deductions onerous considering the increase in wages and lower costs. They are far less than in the United States. The three to five per cent that formerly went into the *Casa de Seguridad* was mostly stolen under Batista. The present five per cent goes into a carefully audited bank account. The only increases today are three per cent for income tax and one per cent for union dues. (The check-off system also exists in the United States and the amount is frequently more than one per cent.) The four per cent for industrialization is "voluntary." That, of course, is a euphemism, just as the voluntary Red Cross, Community Chest and other drive collections are supposed to be "voluntary" in the United States but rarely are. A Cuban worker, I presume, is not likely to risk writing the Minister of Labor requesting he be excused from the tax.

Let Mr. Finch have his pipe-dream about the prosperity of workers under Batista. The transport workers did not all have a six-hour day, and right after a purge by the army of their heads, they had to take a twenty-four per cent wage cut. After the purge of Conrad Becquer from the sugar federation, the sugar workers, already not earning enough to provide much food, were cut fifty per cent. This happened when I was in Cuba in 1957.

6.) Mr. Finch is also mistaken in putting forth the statement that workers could not be fired under Batista except with the consent of the government. They could be fired either by the boss or the labor union, though a few unions were strong enough to prevent indiscriminate firing. Actually, under Castro—and this I feel is a mistake that can lead to future abuses—hiring and firing has been taken out of the hands of the unions. This has been chiefly—at least this is the argument set forth—to put an end to race discrimination.

7.) The secret police, both branches mentioned by Mr. Finch, are probably about a fifth of the size they were under Batista. Whether either organization is run by a Communist, I would not know. It would, considering the nature of this article and its misinformation, be necessary to produce documentation. The only high echelon man I know connected with the military police has offices in the National Palace and is close to Raul Castro. He is a fine man, generous and eager, not remotely a Communist. I have had lunch with a number of secret agents at various times. None whom I met was a Communist.

The so-called behind the scenes foreign Communists, "a Frenchman named Lavendeira," and Fabio Crolat are fished out of the Eastland testimony provided by ex-Batista elements. The State Department issued a White Paper on Guatemala, which besides listing all known Communists of any importance and many of minor importance, listed in true McCarthy fashion, all suspected Communists, among whom they lumped as "suspect" all teachers, since they were more informed, New Dealers who liked Roosevelt, and what have you. They surely went over the land with a fine-toothed comb trying to build up an iron case. But nowhere is any man named Lavendeira, who, if he was an adviser of Arbenz, certainly would have been named, mentioned. Proofs, not allegations, are required here. Mr. Finch should at least supply the full correct name of the "Frenchman." The source for this sort of McCarthy type reporting seems to be an ex-Batista secret police official who claims to have been employed by BRAC (Batista's anti-Communist bureau) the records of which were wholly destroyed at the time of the Revolution, so that he is now free to invent whatever he wishes.

8.) I have long tried to verify the accusation against Dorticos being a candidate and a Communist. Apparently this goes back to similar police sources and was first given to the Eastland Committee by Spruille Braden. I have not been able to pin anyone down as to the year or the office that Dorticos supposedly ran as a Communist candidate. Actually the Communists put out few candidates during the forties. Chiefly they endorsed other candidates, including Batista in 1940 and on other occasions. The Communist charges against Alfredo Guevaro, Antonio Jimenez, and similar personalities stem from the same dubious sources, a supposed BRAC document gotten up by a secret Batista police officer and supposedly in the hands of Rafael Diaz Balart of the White Rose group of Cuban counter-revolutionaries, all of whom have very questionable reputations.

9.) The University is still autonomous, rampantly so. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez is the only known Communist professor in a faculty of hundreds that ministers to fifteen thousand students. He was not appointed by the government but invited in by students and faculty for he happens to be a leading authority in his field. I do not believe that he is or controls any purge committee of the university as a whole. To get this whole picture, Mr. Finch should go back to the corruption, the lame-duck politicians, the sinecures, the father-son inheritance of posts etc. which were inherited from Batista. Incompetents have now been ruled out, but also, I fear, a few good men, who were counter-revolutionaries, such as Dr. Portell-Vila. Mr. Finch should not falsify the record by saying that Miro Cardona left Cuba because of trouble at the university. The whole story of Miro Cardona and the retirement of the government's appointment of him to be Minister to Washington is so well known that it is incredible that Mr. Finch should turn it into a university issue.

The students have not abandoned their classes, as anyone who has been in Havana recently and has visited the institution can testify. A small clique of Catholic students has not shown up; that is true. On the other hand, a large group of Catholic students expelled from Loyola University, controlled by United States priests, for issuing a manifesto favoring the Revolution, have been accepted into Havana University and are attending classes. Incidentally, about half the persons who dynamited and wounded many people in a department store and were promptly uncovered by the

police were from this same Loyola University, or graduates.

At the same time, I am the first to admit that the atmosphere at the university is far from healthy. There is a struggle among the students between the general federation and a small federation of Catholics, and within the federation there is undoubtedly a Communist and a non-Communist struggle going on. Most of the abuses that have occurred have been due to revolutionary fervor and because the University is autonomous.

10.) The statistics as to the number of non-Batista persons executed by the Castro government are wholly false, and thus far, so far as I can determine, no non-military or non-police person has been executed unless caught arms in hand or committing overt violence, as for instance the individual who attacked a radio station leading a group arms in hand. This goes for the Santa Clara student who was executed. He was captured in armed revolt.

11.) Mr. Finch's statement that there are now more than fifteen thousand political prisoners may be true. Persons committing actual crimes, including political crimes of violence, have been promptly tried and convicted or acquitted. Not so the type of political prisoner not overtly guilty. A few have been called out of prison by the courts and given a hearing, about the only type of *habeas corpus* Cuba has ever had and now observed but little. I think this is a serious fault of the Revolution and I think the Castro government should attempt to rectify this situation promptly. These people should not languish in prison, but should be tried promptly or released. That other "democratic" countries of Latin America have a similar situation—witness the case of Siqueiros in Mexico, for example, or the hundreds, perhaps thousands of political prisoners in Argentina—cannot excuse the Cuban government. The government will not be influenced by smear-type people, but there is a possibility that friends can bring some amelioration of this situation.

12.) The statements about the militia are patently untrue. Nor are there enough "militant" Communists to supply all the officers of the corps. This is patently absurd.

JACK JONES

New York

I think you've rendered a great service by making available Roy Finch's "Interview With Cuban Libertarians." The article should do much to clarify the Cuban picture for *LIBERATION* readers.

I had been following the reports of what goes on in Castro's Animal Farm with increasing dismay and incredulity. Sometimes the Cuban events have seemed like a parody of Orwell's book—e.g. the slogan "*Cuba si, Yanqui no!*" which is an uncanny echo of "Four legs good—two legs bad!"

There is that in human nature which has difficulty in doing without a magnificent character in uniform striding about exhorting people to work harder, hate the enemy more, and believe on him. Unquestionably it enlivens things. But is it worth it? For apparently in the catastrophic end it makes very little difference whether it is Josef, or Adolf, or Benito, or Francisco, or Fidel, and one thing is certain: a lot of people are going to get killed. How pertinently does Mr. Finch cite Camus in this connection. For it always turns out, in the final summation, that humanity would have been better off if none of the "great events" associated with these "Maximum Leaders" had taken place.

So I cannot follow Mr. Lens in thinking that in regard to Castroism "the pluses outweigh the minuses." Even if this were true (and I don't think it is) the real point

is that it is now evident what the final balance must be. The Cuban Libertarians reported that the Castro secret police were now being run, not merely by a Communist, but by an actual Russian agent (Crobat). This does not seem to be disputed by Mr. Lens. Does he know of any instance in political history where the Communists controlled the police or the army of any country and then failed to finish up the job? This one circumstance, if true, would seem to be a good deal more than enough for libertarians to write off Castroism.

Most discouraging is Mr. Lens' evident itch to revise not only libertarian principles, but even to relinquish the Gandhist philosophy with which *LIBERATION* started out. In the light of the Cuban events, he says, the Editors should "grapple" with their Gandhism. It would seem to me rather that, in the light of Gandhism, they should grapple with Castroism. I am not thinking at this point only or even primarily of the pacifist aspect of Gandhism, but more of the broader Gandhist humanist tradition (some further implications and possibilities of which were pointed out by Karl Shapiro in his excellent article in the February issue.)

But is it really legitimate to speak of a Gandhi and a Castro in the same breath? Who are the men who stand behind Gandhi? In one way or another, those of the legacy of Western humanism and anti-totalitarian principle, of the anarchist and libertarian tradition: Ruskin, Tolstoy, Camus, Orwell. Who are the "humanists" behind Castro? Khrushchev ("We will bury you!"); Jimenez ("We will erect the biggest execution wall in history!"); Crobat?

MARIO GONZALEZ

Havana

I have just read Dave Dellinger's article on Cuba and I want to thank you for it on behalf of my countrymen. I am anxious to see how you will reply to the Libertarians who claim that Cuba is now Communist-controlled. I have already written you expressing my reaction to those who use the pretext of anti-Communism to oppose the Revolution. Now I would like to clarify my present position. Cuba has three forms of economic policy: Socialism (the State farms or people's farms), cooperativism (the *cooperativas*) and capitalism (individually owned farms and shops). In one of Fidel Castro's recent speeches, he explained how this situation is based not on utopian considerations but on practical ones, according to the nation's need. He insisted, however, that no one should be compelled to join a cooperative or a State farm. Fidel attacked those who use demagoguery to compel independent farmers into socialization.

I hope you realize that the "State" in Cuba is not the same as in the United States. No matter how good the State is, it is always an anonymous monster infringing upon one's individual freedom. Yet, when the State is a criminal father he deserves to be done away with violently or nonviolently, but when the State is a solicitous mother concerned about her children's welfare, a cooperative anarchist like myself has to think twice before he goes into conflict with it. Especially when that motherly state has such powerful enemies as the international elites of Wall Street, Inc. and its mercenaries. I cannot think of reaping before the sowing is done, and I think it would be foolish of me to object to minor offenses to my individual principles when the life of my people is at stake. I wonder if the Libertarian Cubans thought about that when they decided to become antagonistic to the Revolution. To say that Fidel Castro is a Communist puppet is a gross undervaluation of his personality. Dave

continued on page 19

"A NUCLEAR MISHAP"

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS RELATED TO THE SL-1 ACCIDENT AT THE NATIONAL REACTOR TESTING STATION IDAHO, ON JANUARY 3, 1961

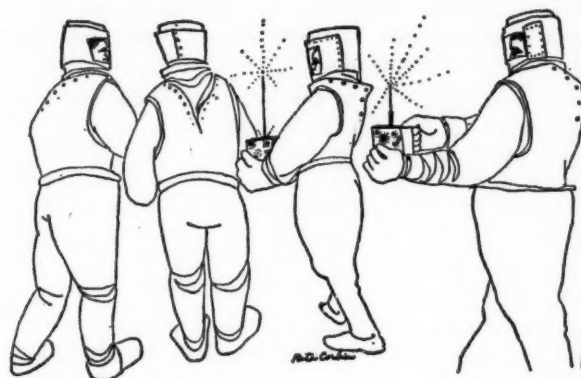
First indication of trouble at the SL-1 (Stationary Low Power No. 1) reactor was an automatic alarm received at AEC Fire Stations and Security Headquarters at 9:01 p.m. MST, January 3, 1961. The alarm was immediately broadcast over all NRTS radio networks. At the same time, the personnel radiation monitor at the Gas Cooled Reactor Experiment gate house, about one mile distant, alarmed and remained erratic for several minutes.

Upon the receipt of the alarm, which could have resulted from either excessive temperature or a pressure surge in the region above the reactor floor, the Central Facilities AEC Fire Department and AEC Security Forces responded. A Phillips Petroleum Company (operating contractor for some NRTS facilities) health physicist from the Materials Testing Reactor area was called at this time.

The fire engines and security forces arrived at the SL-1 site, about eight miles from the central facilities area, at approximately 9:10 p.m. Security patrolmen opened the gates in the site area fence and later the south door of the SL-1 administration building. Firemen equipped with Scott Air-Paks and radiation survey meters went through the administration building and the support facilities building in search of the operators and evidence of fire.

The initial penetration went as far as the entrance to the reactor building; however, unusually high radiation levels there caused the search party to withdraw pending health physics guidance. No fire or smoke nor any personnel were seen in the support facilities or administration building. The searchers did not enter the reactor building proper.

At 9:17 p.m. the Phillips health physicist arrived at the SL-1. He and a fireman, wearing Scott Air-Paks, made another trip through the administration and support facilities buildings and as far as the foot of the



stairs to the operating floor of the reactor building, where they encountered a radiation level of 25 roentgens per hour, the limit of the survey meter they were using. They retreated from the reactor building and thoroughly searched the administration and support facilities buildings looking for the three men believed to be on duty. They saw no one, nor any smoke or fire. During this search they encountered radiation fields of from 500 mr/hr to 10 r/hr.

By this time a radio check to other NRTS installations confirmed that the three SL-1 operators had not gone to any of them, so it was now presumed they must be in the reactor building.

At 9:35 p.m. two more Phillips health physicists arrived, already in protective clothing. One of them, with two firemen and with a 500 r/hr range survey meter, went up the stairs of the reactor building until a 200 r/hr radiation field was encountered. This group withdrew from the building to plan a course of action based on radiation levels noted. Then, with AEC approval, the other Phillips health physicist and an AEC fireman went to the top of the stairs and took a brief look at the reactor floor. Observed radiation levels of the order of 500 r/hr forced their quick withdrawal. They saw some evidence of damage but no bodies.

By 9:36 p.m. key personnel of AEC-Idaho Operations Office (IDO), Combustion Engineering Inc. (operating contractor for the SL-1) and Phillips Petroleum Company had been notified of the SL-1 accident. Following notification, many personnel who played key roles in the rescue efforts at SL-1 had to travel from Idaho Falls to the SL-1 site, a distance of 41 miles. At 10:23 p.m. IDO designation of a Class I disaster was broadcast over the NRTS radio networks.

When four Combustion Engineering personnel including the SL-1 plant health physicist, arrived, they decided to enter the 500 r/hr field. The four Com-

Combustion Engineering men, having verified that the three military men on duty had not left the site, prepared to enter onto the reactor operating floor.

At approximately 10:35 p.m. the Combustion Engineering supervisors for plant operations and health physics, wearing Scott Air-Paks and carrying two 500 roentgen scale Jordan Radectors, entered the reactor operating floor for less than two minutes. They saw two men; one moving. They withdrew and returned with two more Combustion Engineering men and an AEC health physicist.

Two of the group picked up the man who was alive and put him on a stretcher at the head of the stairs. The other three of the group observed that the second man was apparently dead. The group got the stretcher down the stairs and out the west door within three minutes of entry, and put the stretcher in a panel truck. The man was taken in the panel truck to meet the ambulance, transferred, and taken to the junction of Highway 20 and Fillmore Blvd. where the AEC doctor was met. When the doctor examined the casualty at 11:14 p.m. he pronounced him dead and the ambulance returned with the body to the SL-1 site pending a decision on the temporary disposition of the body.

At about 10:48 p.m. another group, made up of two military and two Phillips personnel, entered onto the reactor floor to locate the third man. They located him and determined that he was dead and did not attempt to remove him.

The recovery group went to the GCRE for preliminary decontamination. Gamma exposures of the five-man group ranged from 23 to 27 roentgens. As the groups were returning from the GCRE, they stopped long enough to permit one military man, and one AEC health physicist to go through the support facilities building and close doors to lessen the chance of a fire starting and spreading in the disaster area; the two men did not enter the reactor building on this trip. When the two men returned to the rest of the group, it proceeded on to the decontamination trailer set up at Fillmore Blvd. and Route 20. From here the group split up with part going to the Central Facilities dispensary and the rest going to the Chemical Processing Plant for further decontamination.

Having concluded that the remaining two operators were dead, the AEC-IDO health physicist suspended rescue efforts and ordered all personnel back to the roadblock established on Fillmore Blvd. at Highway 20.

After the ambulance had been returned to SL-1 to await a decision on disposition of the body, personnel involved in the transfer of the body from the panel truck to the ambulance went to the Central Facilities dispensary for decontamination. Between midnight and 3:00 a.m. on January 4 approximately 30 people who

had been engaged in the emergency at the SL-1 area were admitted to the dispensary for secondary decontamination. These personnel included firemen, security patrolmen, and military personnel. Preliminary badge readings and urine sample analyses for these 30 people were received around 3:30 a.m. and indicated that all personnel could be released. To assist in the above-mentioned decontamination processes, four Phillips Petroleum Company health physicists came to the dispensary from the MTR and the Engineering Test Reactor.

At approximately 6:00 a.m. on the morning of January 4 a team of five men removed the body from the ambulance located in the SL-1 area. The body was disrobed in order to remove as much decontamination as possible at the site. The body was replaced in the ambulance, covered with lead aprons for shielding purposes, and transported to the Chemical Processing Plant where surface decontamination was attempted. Individuals involved in the disrobing and transfer process received a maximum exposure of 770 millirems gamma. Prior to decontamination the reading from the first body was approximately 400 r/hr at the head region, approximately 100 r/hr at the feet, and from 200 to 300 r/hr over the remainder of the body. First efforts to decontaminate the body resulted in no significant decrease in the readings.

Between 7:00 a.m. and 11:00 p.m. on January 4, . . . investigation teams were organized. . . . No radiological hazard to the public has been indicated.

At approximately 4:00 p.m. January 4, 1961, preparations began to recover the second body from the reactor operating floor. The body was located in an area where radiation levels were estimated to be approximately 750 r/hr.

A recovery team consisting of six military personnel and two AEC health physicists proceeded from the decontamination check point on Fillmore Blvd. near U. S. Highway 20, after having been extensively briefed, rehearsed, and attired in protective clothing, to the entrance of the SL-1 compound at about 7:30 p.m. Of this group, two military men and two health physicists entered the support facilities building through the side entrance into the maintenance workshop area. A blanket was placed on the floor of the control room.

Because of the high radiation levels to be encountered, the maximum permissible working time on the reactor operating floor was limited to one minute. One health physicist was assigned to hold a stop watch and time the actual entrance to the reactor operating floor, signalling the two-man recovery team when their time was up. The other health physicist remained in the support facilities building to check the body for radiation after its removal from the reactor building.

Having been briefed as to the location of the body to be recovered, the two-man team entered the reactor operating floor and proceeded directly to the body. One man picked up the victim's legs while the other grasped the body around the shoulders and they moved rapidly out of the high radiation area and down the stairway. The two men continued down the stairs and placed the body on the blanket in the control room.

The second two-man team entered the support facilities building and went to the control room where they picked up the body by the four corners of the blanket and carried it out of the SL-1 compound. The work clothing was removed from the body, which was then placed in an ambulance standing by for the purpose at 8:08 p.m. The ambulance proceeded with the body to the Chemical Processing Plant where facilities had been prepared to receive it. The third two-man military team proceeded into the support facilities building and onto the reactor operating floor for the purpose of attempting to gain some more information about the status of the remaining body and the reactor.

The short periods of time that these recovery teams were in the high radiation areas on the reactor operating floor resulted in gamma exposures of from 1 rem (roentgen equivalent man) to about 13 rems.

On Thursday evening, January 5, an official photographer entered the radioactive reactor compartment to photograph the scene of the explosion. Radiation fields greater than 500 r/hr were reported by the accompanying health physicists. The photographer, wearing protective clothing and breathing apparatus, was allowed 30 seconds to complete his assignment. By entering the reactor compartment only long enough to trigger his camera and withdrawing to a less radioactive area to change film and make adjustments, the photographer was able to obtain the interior photograph needed. This photograph assisted AEC investigating teams in making plans to recover the third body and in evaluating damage to the reactor operating area. Maximum radiation exposure of these two men was less than two roentgens gamma of radiation.

The third body had been observed to be lodged in the ceiling above the reactor. Because of the high radiation fields (above 500 r/hr) personnel could not climb onto a beam to free the body which itself was highly contaminated with radioactive material.

The plan for removal of this third body was to position a large net (5' x 20') under it and attempt to lower the body onto the net. The net itself was fastened to the end of a crane boom. The large doors on the reactor building that are used for moving equipment in and out of the building were opened to permit the crane to position the net just below the body. A closed

circuit TV camera had been placed in the reactor building to help position the net.

When the net was in position, teams of two men each were to move in quickly and try to lower the body onto the net. Because of the radiation fields, each team had less than a minute to make its attempt at freeing the body.

Due to a malfunction of the TV equipment, it was necessary to use the first team of men to check that the net was properly positioned; they accomplished their mission in less than their allotted time.

Four additional teams were used to accomplish the mission of freeing the body and lowering it into the net.

A sixth crew, outside of the building, was used to move the crane which held the net. The third body was removed from the building at 2:37 a.m. on January 9, 1961. [Ed. Note: *five and a half days after the accident.*] The estimated doses received by the men entering the reactor building to free the body ranged from 2.5 to 7.5 rem.

Recovery operations were completed at 4:42 a.m. January 9, 1961.

Official photographers have made a permanent record of activities at the SL-1 area. Aerial photographs were taken late Friday, January 6, to record the condition of the reactor building exterior, which appears undamaged.

At 1:45 a.m., Sunday, January 8, 1961, a photographer, accompanied by a health physicist, photographed the reactor compartment. The photograph was requested by the technical advisory committee assisting the Idaho Operations Office to aid in planning the recovery of the third victim. A photograph of the control room was also taken. Readings of the high range gamma dosimeters worn by the men showed a maximum exposure of less than three roentgens.

Entry to the reactor building continued to be a hazardous undertaking. To protect individuals from contamination, a detailed procedure is observed prior to any entry. A detailed plan of action for each operation is established in order to obtain maximum benefit from the limited observation time of one to two minutes. AEC and Combustion Engineering health physicist personnel control the disaster field operations to ensure maximum safety for all participants. They determine who may enter, the radiation exposures to be tolerated and the equipment to be utilized.

The person assigned an entry mission and a health physicist are each dressed in two pairs of coveralls, shoe covers, and gloves. Around the wrists and ankles tape is used to insure no skin remains exposed. Cap and respiratory protection equipment plus miscellaneous

neous radiation detection equipment complete the outfitting of participants. Following exit from the contaminated area, clothing is removed and participants are decontaminated, if necessary, by scrubbing with soap and water.

Since radiation effects are cumulative, each entry by an individual brings him closer to prescribed maximum permissible limits. Exposures to personnel are kept as low as possible by strict time limitations and careful planning. To prevent multiple high exposures to individuals the missions are assigned to different personnel, thereby requiring a larger number of persons.



NEWS STORY

Whiteboro, N. Y. Jan 24 (UPI)—With the permission of the Atomic Energy Commission John A. Byrnes, twenty-seven, will be buried tomorrow at Mount Olive Cemetery.

The burial will be unusual in several respects.

The body will be in a standard coffin. However the coffin will be surrounded by a sealed steel box, a lead-lined vault and one foot of concrete. At least three feet of soil must rest on top of the concrete.

The grave may not be moved or opened without AEC permission.

Mr. Byrnes, an Army specialist, was one of three men killed in a nuclear mishap at the Idaho Radiation Testing Center at Idaho Falls, Idaho.



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LETTERS . . .

continued from page 15

Dellinger has seen him personally and knows what a great humanist he is. As long as people like Castro, Dorticos, Guevara, Almeida, and others, remain in control of the state, I feel our humanism is safe from corruption. And I am willing to cooperate for unity even if it means keeping to myself my disagreements in regard to means or style. These disagreements, however, have to do with the means and style of a few revolutionists who do not really represent the spirit of our humanism. I disagree with speeches made with slogans rather than thoughts. I disagree with violence and hatred as a style. I disagree with coercion and demagoguery as a means towards social justice. But since neither Fidel nor El "Che" practices these abominable things, I am glad to see them work and sweat side by side with the peasants. And I know that I have no right to be against the Revolution because it is not utopian like my pacifist-anarchist ideas.

You may ask, why not then become a Socialist or a Communist, if you think anarchism is utopian? I do not become a member of an organization because I have my own cooperative anarchist convictions. It is not my fault that most men are so drunken with the patriarchal morality of power and domination that they do not wish to abandon their privileges unless a Socialist or Communist revolution takes them away. I believe that no man ought to be a slave of his labor and an enemy of his gratification, but I realize that the power elites are too strong to be fought with a pamphlet or a soapbox. And all I can do as a cooperative anarchist is to hope to reach those who think like me and that we can then all get together and try to live according to our convictions. If the capitalist State or the Socialist state withers with the creation of many anarchist cooperatives, so much the better, but I must not think of this final aim unless I forget about the insurmountable difficulties standing in the way: 1.) over-privilege; 2.) vested interests; 3.) positions of dominance. If we are honest about pacifist anarchism, we must accept the fact that it only appeals to idealists, intellectuals, tramps, and underdogs. No self-respecting shopkeeper, executive or philistine can ever want to give up his selfish cravings unless he becomes an idealist. And to become an idealist is not an everyday phenomenon. Hence, pacifist anarchism is utopian as long as it is a philosophy based on voluntary association and individual decision. But this does not mean that it cannot be practised on a small scale. Nor does it mean that one cannot get together with other people to live for love and freedom instead of power and domination.

If the Cuban government allows private property to exist, there is no reason why it would not allow anarchists to get their private property together and organize their communities, churches, schools of living, etc. That is why I do not understand what the Libertarian anarchists were trying to do that they had to leave Cuba as if it were hell. Were these Libertarians trying to build or destroy the cooperative society all Cubans are walking toward?

A NEW NATIONAL HOLIDAY?

(see next page)

CIVIL DEFENSE PROTEST DAY, APRIL 28th

A CALL TO SANITY — AND SELF-RESPECT

Governor Meyner of New Jersey has called Civil Defense a "cruel deception." Senator Stephen Young of Ohio has described it as "a billion dollar boondoggle." Eleanor Roosevelt says: "It is quite evident, from all we are told about nuclear weapons that the shelters would be useless." We would add that the Civil Defense program is the key effort in an insidious psychological campaign to get the American people to accept the likelihood of nuclear war.

In New York City last spring a thousand persons gathered at City Hall Park to protest the annual Operation Alert. Half of them remained after the sirens had sounded—in open, conscientious civil disobedience. The Civil Defense Protest Committee says:

We urge thousands upon thousands of citizens to join us in City Hall Park this year in a deliberate public protest. It is imperative that the demonstration be many times larger than last year's.

All aspects of the protest will be carried out in the spirit of nonviolence, without ill-will toward law enforcement officers or to unsympathetic by-standers. There should be no resistance to arrest on the part of any who join in the demonstration under CDPC auspices.

LIBERATION urges New Yorkers to join the protest, whether they take shelter when the sirens sound or join the civil disobedience. Contact the committee at Room 825 5 Beekman Street, New York 38, N.Y. (Beekman 3-0462). All participants should be in City Hall Park not later than 3:30, Friday April 28th, a half hour before the alert is scheduled.

We also urge people all over the country to stand up and be counted in this crucial test of sanity.

Liberation

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